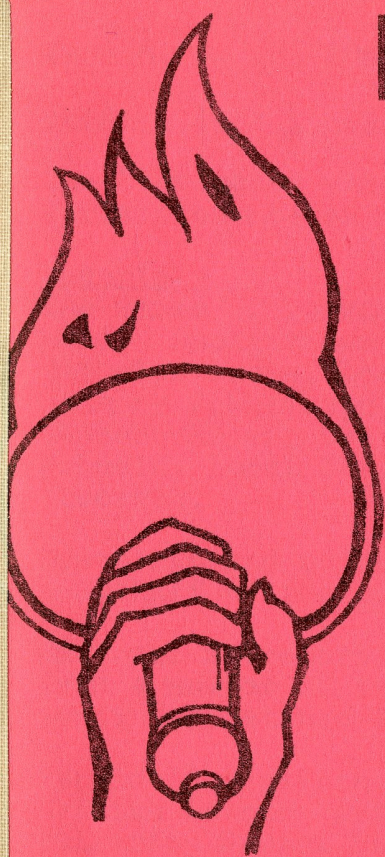




PROCEEDINGS

1962

NATIONAL

CONVENTION

SOCIALIST PARTY

June 8-10

Washington, D.C.

PROCEEDINGS
1962 NATIONAL CONVENTION
SOCIALIST PARTY, U. S. A.

June 8, 9, 10, 1962

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Friday, June 8, 1962

The Convention was opened at 2:30 P. M. by National Chairman Darlington Hoopes with a statement. (Appendix)

Memorials

The names of comrades who had died during the last two years were read. Among those listed were: Robert Aulenbach, Local Berks, Nicholas Davis, Local Brooklyn, John M. Duncan, Local D.C., Anthony Jakubiszyn, Local Detroit, Elwood Kenpley, Local Berks, Blanche Meyer, Oregon, Sam Oshry, Local Los Angeles, Hyman Schneid, Local Chicago. A moment of silence in their memory was observed.

Greetings and announcements were given by comrade Milton Zatinsky on behalf of the host local, Washington, D. C.

National Secretary Irwin Suall read greetings to the Convention from a number of fraternal organizations and parties. Those sending greetings were:

Partido Socialista Democratico (Argentina)
British Labour Party
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in Exile
New Democratic Party of Canada
Danish Social Democratic Party
Parti Socialiste, SFIO (France)
Social Democratic Party of Germany
Partij Van De Arbeid (Holland)
Praja Socialist Party (India)
Mapai Israel Labour Party
Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano (Italy)
Peoples National Party of Jamaica
Japan Democratic Socialist Party
Japan Socialist Party
Socialist Progressive Party (Lebanon)
Polish Socialist Party in Exile
Sozialdemokratische Partei Der Schweiz (Switzerland)
Accion Democratica (Venezuela)

The Socialist International
Latin-American Secretariat of the Socialist International
Socialist Union of Central Eastern Europe
International Union of Social Democratic Teachers
International Union of Socialist Youth
Students for a Democratic Society

Motion: by David Edelstein. That each candidate for the political perspectives committee make a 30 second statement of his political position. CARRIED.

The nominees made their statements.

National Secretary Irwin Suall presented his report (attached) and discussion followed.

Report of the Credentials Committee: Max Weinrib presented the report of the Credentials Committee. The Committee asked the convention to rule on comrade Charles Van Tassel's eligibility to serve as delegate.

MOTION: To seat Charles Van Tassel as a delegate. CARRIED.

The report of the Credentials Committee was adopted.

MOTION: by Milton Zatinsky. To require a vote for 5 candidates for the Constitution Committee and 7 candidates for the Political Perspectives Committee. CARRIED.

Elected to Constitution Committee:

Benjamin Williger
Saul Mendelson
Terence McCarthy
Seymour Koplow (convenor)
David Edelstein

Elected to Political Perspectives Committee:

William Briggs
Darlington Hoopes
Milton Zatinsky
Debbie Meier
Seymour Steinsapir
Michael Harrington
Irwin Suall
Rudy Pakalns

Comrades Suall and Pakalns were tied for the 7th place on the committee.

MOTION: by Samuel Friedman. To expand the committee to 8. CARRIED.

MOTION: To hear the YPSL report before adjournment. DEFEATED.

Saturday, June 9th

The session was convened at 10:30 AM by chairman Michael Harrington.

YPSL Report: YPSL National Committee member and former National Secretary, Joel Geier, gave the YPSL report.

The YPSL has demonstrated impressive growth throughout the country. A goodly number of new members had been recruited from a number of the activities in which the YPSL is involved and new chapters were being formed at a rapid clip. Comrade Geier described YPSL as a multi-ten-dency organization that in functional terms is more alive than similar student political organizations. The report mentioned the following facets of YPSL's work: internal educational activities, including a series of mimeographed pamphlets on a variety of political subjects; involvement in mass work notably with the Student Peace Union and CORE. YPSL participated intensively in the Freedom Rides and a good number of YPSL members were arrested in Jackson, Miss. Ypsels have assisted in a number of labor struggles, manning picket lines, sitting-in, etc.

The YPSL is sponsoring a summer educational conference to meet for two weeks this summer. Comrade Geier described YPSL's internal political life as a reflection of the Party's with a similar breakdown in ideological tendencies. Some of the problems facing the YPSL include factional disputes, the normal instability of student life and a leadership problem, partly reflecting the fact that the current YPSL average age is 18 or 19 rather than older as in former days. The average age, however serves to give the current YPSL a great deal of vigor and enthusiasm.

MOTION: by Irwin Suall. To suspend the agenda and hear greetings from the Jewish Labor Bund. CARRIED.

Emanuel Scherer delivered greetings on behalf of the Bund.

Max Shachtman reported for the party committee on unity negotiations with the Bund.

MOTION: by Seymour Koplow. To accept the report of the committee on negotiations and to authorize continued negotiations looking toward the successful consummation of Socialist unity with the Jewish Labor Bund. CARRIED.

Greetings were read from the Socialist Union of Central Europe.

Max Weinrib reported for the Credentials Committee.

MOTION: To accept the report and seat Charles Davis of Baltimore. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Terence McCarthy. To hear report of the constitution committee and limit debate to 20 minutes. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Milton Zatinsky. To extend discussion to 1 hour. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Donald Anderson. To reconsider discussion of the constitution in view of the fact that copies were not yet available. CARRIED.

MOTION: To proceed to the report of the Political Perspectives Committee. **CARRIED.**

Comrade Milton Zatinsky reported for the Political Perspectives Committee.

The committee recommended the following procedure: 3 reporters, one for each political action resolution, speaking for 10 minutes each; followed by 4 speakers for each resolution, speaking for 5 minutes each. The reporters would summarize for 5 minutes each. A written vote would then be taken, each resolution to be identified by the name of the reporter. The resolution getting a majority would be the only resolution on the floor and only amendments generally in sympathy with the resolution would be accepted. If no resolution obtained a majority the matter would be referred back to the committee.

MOTION: by Bogdan Denitch. To accept the report and recommendations of the committee. **CARRIED.**

Reports for each resolution (attached) were presented by Debbie Meier, William Briggs and Michael Harrington.

Speakers for the resolutions:

Meier resolution	Briggs resolution	Harrington resolution
Milton Zatinsky	Phyllis Jacobson	Norman Thomas
Saul Mendelson	Darlington Hoopes	Irwin Suall
George Rawick	Seymour Stein	Max Shachtman
Bogdan Denitch	Joel Geier	Robert Martinson

Summaries were presented by Harrington, Briggs and Meier.

Roll Call Vote on the resolutions:

In favor of Meier Resolution (23)

Allen	Mendelson
N. Ahearn	Meyer
R. Ahearn	Mirmak
A. Bassford	Morgan
Bolitzer	Morse
J. Brown	M. Oppenheimer
Cypin	Papcut
Denitch	Papcut
Henes	Rawick
Keydel	Rinne
Kneen	Williger
Meier	Zatinsky

In favor of Briggs Motion: (38)

Aks	Geier	S. Oppenheimer
Albright	Gorden	Ovshinsky
Anderson	Hoopes	Pakalns
Aronov	Jacobson	Papanek
Baich	A. Koeppicus	Parker
Barton	R. Koeppicus	Shute
Briggs	Kohn	Stempa
R. Brown	Kumer	Steinsapir
Dykofsky	Kushner	Syropoulos
Edelstein	Landy	Whitehead
Estrin	Flynn	M. Wohl
Friedman	McCarthy	S. Wohl
	Moore	

In favor of the Harrington Resolution: (33)

Benson	Hill	Shachtman
Byers	Tahn	Stack
Clark	Topilow	Suall
Culbreath	Leopold	Thomas
Davis	Harrington	Van Tassel
Fineman	Maxwell	M. Weinrib
von Fuchs	Norrill	R. Weinrib
Garber	Panken	H. Wilson
Green	Paskal	R. Wilson
Guttenkauf	Ramirez	Winston
Harrington	Rosen	Yeager

The convention adjourned for lunch.

The convention was reconvened at 4 PM by Vice Chairman McCarthy.

The report for the Constitution Committee was presented by Seymour Kopilow.

The Committee recommended the following:

Art. 1 - To change the name of the organization to Socialist Party, USA.

MOTION: by Samuel Friedman. To change the name but include SP-SDF on stationery and literature in a subordinate place. **NOT VOTED.**

AMENDMENT: by Terence McCarthy. To change Art. 1 to read: "The name of this organization is the SP-SDF hereinafter known as the SP, USA." **CARRIED.**

Art. 2, Sec. 9 add: "Or such action is in accordance with the decisions of the National Convention." **CARRIED.**

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Art. 3, Sec. 2. Delete "decisions" in last sentence of application for membership. CARRIED.

Art. 4, Sec. 2. Change the number of National Committee members from 20 to 16. CARRIED.

Art. 4, Sec. 3. Change the number of NC alternates from 20 to 12. CARRIED.

AMENDMENT by Seymour Steinsavir: To change the number of alternates from 20 to 16. DEFEATED.

Art. 4, Sec. 4 (recommendation by Koplow) To strike the last sentence. CARRIED.

Art. 4, Sec. 7. To change the National Committee quorum from 11 to 9. CARRIED.

Art. 7, Sec. 1a. To change permissible convention size to 75 to 150. CARRIED.

Art. 9, Sec. 3. To drop the words "and Hammer and Tongs." CARRIED.

Art. 13. To delete Article 13 and change numbering accordingly. CARRIED.

MOTION: To ratify as amended. CARRIED.

Sunday, June 10

Chairman William Briggs called the convention to order at 10 AM

Nominations for the National Committee were made and the ballots ordered prepared.

Nominations for the National Committee:

Robert Alexander	M. Shachtman
S. Friedman	R. Pakalns
D. Heifer	D. McReynolds
D. Hine	B. Denitch
W. Briggs	S. Bottone
S. Mendelson	S. Koplow
E. Papanek	Julius Bernstein
I. Suall	H. Harrington
S. Ovshinsky	

Nomination and election of National Chairman:

Darlington Hoopes was nominated and elected.

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Platform Committee

Norman Thomas gave the report for the platform committee.

MOTION: by Norman Thomas. That the NC appoint an editing committee to edit the platform for publication. CARRIED.

Introduction. Adopted.

Domestic Introduction Adopted.

Health, Education and Welfare. To include funeral expenses under provision for medicare. Adopted.

To add on Page 3 a call for the integration of state and federal aid to education. Adopted.

Civil Rights. Adopted.

Civil Liberties. To move section on minorities to civil rights. Adopted.

Urban Problems. Committee recommended shortening. Adopted.

Leisure and Communications. To add section stating socialist endorsement of park, wild life and nature preservation. Adopted.

Financing. To change the name of section to Public Finance. Adopted.

Add sentence calling for "progressive taxation of land increments," resulting from social development rather than private improvement." Adopted.

Change section beginning "the ending of scandalous" to read "the ending of scandalous corporate privileges for huge, non-risk companies using natural resources which should be publicly owned." Adopted.

Add a section calling for "a progressive tax on undistributed corporate income." Adopted.

Delete sections beginning, "the immediate nationalization of the communications satellite system" and "These proposals, we must emphasize" and add new section on Public Ownership. Adopted.

Ernst Papanek reported on expanded section on Crime and Punishment recommended by the committee. Adopted.

Add section calling for "overhaul of land tax laws on state level" Adopted.

Labor. Add "civil liberties in Trade Unions" to the 4th paragraph, page 3. Adopted.

MOTION: by Terence McCarthy. To include paragraph opposing the increasing use of the labor injunction. Accepted by committee.

MOTION: by Martin Openheimer. To strike paragraphs reading, "We believe that the United Automobile Workers have indicated an important technique of promoting and defending union democracy: the Public Review Board. We feel that the entire labor movement should adopt this principle as part of a serious, continuing commitment to democracy." and "At the same time, we believe that there is a function for progressive legislation oriented at providing legal protection for the democratic rights of workers. Specifically, we believe that a "reserved powers" approach might well be a fruitful one: the law would describe a basic bill of internal union rights; unions which voluntarily met this standard through the adoption of institutions like the Public Review Board would be exempted from further compliance; and the procedures would only be applied to those unions which refused to provide democratic guarantees on their own." Defeated.

AMENDMENT: To strike second paragraph only. Defeated.

Section on labor adopted as amended.

Education: to add after "a free society" on P. 2: "We strongly condemn ROTC since military training does not belong in a democratic education."

MOTION: by Bogdan Denitch. To refer section on education to income national committee. Defeated.

AMENDMENT: by Henry Baich. To add: "We favor a Federal college scholarship plan on the basis of ability only." Adopted.

Health: To add section calling for regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling. Adopted.

Unemployment: The Committee recommended that "unemployment" be removed from the welfare section and made a separate section. Adopted.

MOTION: by Paul Albright. To add "It is the duty of society through its agencies of government to provide socially useful work for all who are willing and able on a voluntary basis. This problem should be approached from the standpoint of the needs and aspirations of each individual unemployed person." Adopted.

MOTION: by George Aronov. To add section calling on government to work with industry in retraining workers. Adopted.

Foreign Policy: To delete reference to Rapacki plan and add "Plans for the demilitarization of central Europe." Adopted.

MOTION: by Joel Geier. To recess for 20 minutes. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Edna Friend. To proceed with platform for 45 minutes. DEFERRED.

Convention reconvened at 1:05 by Chairman William Briggs.

Comrade Samuel H. Friedman asked that his objection to the time of the convention being taken up by a recess for caucusing purposes be recorded.

MOTION: To reopen nominations for the National Committee. DEFERRED.

MOTION: by Phyllis Jacobson. To suspend the constitutional provision calling for election of the NC on the Ware system and use a plurality ballot. CARRIED.

MOTION: by George Papcun. To hold discussion on merits of candidates. DEFERRED.

MOTION: by David Edelstein. To reopen nominations. Ruled out of order.

The ruling of the chair was appealed by Comrade Papcun. The chair was upheld by the convention.

MOTION: by Saul Mendelson. To elect by plurality ballot. CARRIED.

MOTION: To seat Eleanor Holmes for Donald Anderson. CARRIED.

The ballots were distributed.

Report for Political Perspectives Committee by William Briggs. The committee recommended 3 minute reports by the reporters of the resolutions and a vote for and against each resolution. CARRIED.

Reporters: Briggs, Harrington and Meier.

Michael Harrington read the following statement: "The delegates who supported the Harrington resolution at this convention will emphatically reaffirm our conviction that it represents the most relevant perspective put before this convention. At the same time we realize that our resolution will not prevail. In the interests of uniting the party and adopting a positive policy we will vote for the Meier resolution in that eventuality. We continue to

stand by the conviction we expressed in advocating our original point of view. We retain our political disagreements with the Meier document. We wish to most explicitly re-state our opposition to the analysis that emphasis on realignment is a dangerous tendency in the YPSL. We support the Meier motion precisely because it grants realignment activity a status in the Party though not the status we sought. In stating these political reservations we wish to make it clear that we are organizationally bound by this motion - as we are bound by all decisions of the Party. Finally, we earnestly hope this action of ours will provide a basis for uniting and strengthening the party.

Vote on Resolutions

Harrington
for - 32
against - 60

Briggs
for - 41
against - 53

Meier
for - 56
against - 32

The Meier resolution CARRIED.

Resumption of platform committee report.

Civil Rights: Add provision calling for action permitting the federal government to transfer civil rights cases to federal courts. CARRIED.

Add section on "other minorities" from civil liberties. CARRIED.

MOTION: by George Papcun. Add "Loitering laws are being applied against the segment of the people who are least able to defend themselves, namely students, unemployed people, old people and young men and women who leave home to see the country. They are arrested on suspicion of loitering and vagrancy without probable cause. This is not countenanced by the 4th Amendment in the Bill of Rights.

"The Socialist Party declares its opposition to loitering and vagrancy laws and arrests on suspicion for it believes that undemocratic, unconstitutional and depriving man of human dignity. Accepted by the committee.

Civil Rights section adopted as amended.

Urban Affairs: to delete item dealing with size of cities we prefer. Adopted.

MOTION: by David McReynolds. That section on Urban Problems be referred to the incoming NC. CARRIED.

MOTION: by David McReynolds. To ask the National Committee to empower the editorial committee to revise and prepare the platform for publication. The editorial committee may not make substantive changes unless authorized by this convention. CARRIED.

Agriculture. Adopted.

Leisure and Communications: Omit Paragraph 4, Page 1.

Change Paragraph 5, Page 1 to read: "The formation of a federal television and radio network, nationally owned, and dedicated to high standards of entertainment and public discussion, which will provide healthy competition to the present private system. We also recommend participation by the talent unions and representatives of the public in the establishment of program policy."

Results of the National Committee Election were announced:

<u>Elected</u>	
Briggs - 87	Pacalns - 77
Papanek - 35	Dernstein - 76
Bottone - 34	Meier - 76
Ovshinsky - 34	Harrington - 74
Friedman - 30	Alexander - 72
Kendelson - 30	McReynolds - 72
	Suall - 72
	Tomlow - 71
	Shachtman - 71
	Denitch - 60

Not Elected: Rinne - 20

Foreign Policy - Adopted as Amended.

MOTION: by Ephraim Friend to amend foreign policy section. Chair ruled this out of order, stating that only adoption of the platform was in order.

Ephraim Friend appealed the ruling of the chair. The chair was upheld by the convention.

The platform was adopted as a whole.

MOTION: by David McReynolds. That the resolutions on foreign policy of Ephraim Friend and of California (attached) be placed before the convention with 10 minutes for reporters and 3 speakers for each of 5 minutes. CARRIED.

MOTION: by Norman Thomas. That the Friend resolution be ruled out of order as incompatible with the platform section on foreign policy.

The chair ruled the Friend resolution out of order.

Friend appealed the ruling of the chair. The chair was overruled.

Bogdan Denitch introduced the California resolution.

MOTION: by David McReynolds. To proceed with the discussion and adopt resolution subject to amendment. CARRIED.

Ballots for the Election of NC Alternates were distributed.

Speakers for the Friend resolution: Myrna Culbreath, Gene Yeager and Abraham Friend.

Speakers for the California resolution: David McReynolds, Arthur Kunin and Michael Parter.

Results of NC Alternates election were announced:

Elected:
McCarthy - 74
Jacobson - 73
S. Bytovsky - 71
Steinsamir - 71
N. Hill - 69
Sy Landy - 67
Horse - 67
D. Dolitzer - 65
Gutenkauf - 58
Garber - 55
Martinson - 55
Joan Suall - 53

Not elected
Anderson - 35
Batch - 32
Kunin - 30
Condit - 22
Jules Greenstein - 15

MOTION: That the convention proceed to a roll-call vote for and against the Denitch resolution and the Friend resolution. CARRIED.

Roll Call Vote:

Delegate	<u>Denitch Resolution</u>		<u>Friend Resolution</u>	
	For	Against	For	Against
Van Tassel		X		X
Hoopes				X
Garber		X		X
Maxwell		X		X
Culbreath		X		X
Yeager		X		X
Alberta Gruber		X		X
Rowe		X		X
Ovshinsky				X
Pastel		X		
Keydel		X		X
Rawick		X		X
Vinston				X
Stack - Not Voting		X		
Morse		X		X
Tepper		X		X
MacLay		X		X

Delegate Denitch Resolution Friend Resolution

For Against For Against

Martinson - Not Voting				
Denitch	X			X
J. Brown	X			X
Wendelson	X			X
Parter	X			X
Il. Weinrib				
R. Brown	X			X
Meyer	X			X
N. Ahearn	X			X
Shute	X			X
Williger	X			X
R. Ahearn	X			X
Gutenkauf	X			X
R. Weinrib	X			X
Albright	X			X
Briggs	X			X
Kusner	X			X
Kunin	X			X
Horrill	X			X
Clark	X			X
Thomas	X			X
Kopilow	X			X
Shachtman - Not Voting				
Green				
Holmes	X			X
Baich	X			X
Gorden	X			X
Henes	X			X
Jacobson	X			X
Benson	X			X
Dolitzer	X			X
Pakalns	X			X
Ydelstein	X			X
Ramirez	X			X
John-	X			X
Bassford	X			X
Flynn, J.	X			X
Flynn, D.	X			X
Il. Oppenheimer	X			X
Darton	X			X
Harmak	X			X
S. Oppenheimer	X			X
Fineman	X			X
Cypin	X			X
Green	X			X
Allen	X			X
Friedman	X			X
Steinsamir	X			X
Papaneck	X			X
Suall	X			X
Hoon	X			X
Geier	X			X
J. Landy	X			X
Kahn	X			X

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Results of roll call vote:

Friend Resolution: For 14 Against 54
Denitch Resolution: For 46 Against 21
Not Voting 3

The Resolution on foreign policy by Bogdan Denitch CARRIED.

NOTION: To refer all further business to the Incoming National Committee and to adjourn with a vote of thanks to Comrade Kathleen Winston for her diligent volunteer work and to Local Washington, D. C. for its hospitality. CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

The convention was adjourned at 5:10 P.M.

Opening Remarks of National Chairman, Darlington Hoopes

Comrades, the 1962 National Convention of the Socialist Party -Social Democratic Federation is now open for business. Those delegates who have not registered will kindly do so immediately so that they may be seated and have a vote in organizing the Convention.

My opening remarks will be brief, but I think what I have to say is very important, and I hope you will give me your undivided attention. This may be the last time that I shall open a convention of the Socialist Party.

The only reasons for the existence of a Socialist Party is to advocate Socialism. A party which calls itself Socialist and fails to advocate Socialism as its central theme, first, last and all the time, is a fraud, and does not deserve and will not long retain the enthusiastic support of ardent Socialists.

This does not mean that we have to be narrow or doctrinaire. We should not insist that every member accept a hard and fast blueprint. We must, of course, work for civil rights, civil liberties, improved social security, medical care, disarmament, and strengthening the United Nations, and carry on an everlasting struggle against poverty.

But we should not have to look at the masthead of our official publication in order to tell that it is a Socialist paper. Every issue should include one or more articles which clearly explain Socialist principles. Above all else the purpose of the Socialist press is to make Socialists out of non-Socialists. You do not make Socialists by articles which could be written by a liberal supporter of the present system. You may convert conservatives to liberalism, but that is not our job. We should receive a constant flow of applications for membership from the subscribers of NEW AMERICA.

Comrades, we have to make up our minds whether we are Socialists or liberal Democrats. We cannot be both. There is a basic difference which seems to be blurred in the minds of some of our Comrades. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party. Democrats, both liberal and conservative, seek to preserve, protect and expand the private profit system.

President Kennedy was angry at the steel barons, but he did not threaten them with public ownership. But he did ask Congress to turn over the Space Communications program, upon which hundreds of millions of dollars of public funds have been spent, to the A.T. & T. to be operated for the private profit of its shareholders. That is the biggest giveaway in history, and we should be running banner headline articles exposing it from a Socialist viewpoint.

Another glaring example of Democratic favoritism to private interests is Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall's decision to permit private utilities to transmit public power from the billion dollar Colorado Rivers Storage Project, which threatens the very life of the rural electric co-operatives, power districts, and municipally owned plants. This is a reversal of a public ownership policy which even the Eisenhower administration did not change. Our paper should be carrying feature articles attacking this steal.

The Democratic Party is the firmest supporter of the war economy and the garrison state. Many liberal Democrats are ardent militarists. They fall over one another in their rush to vote increased military appropriations. At the same time they cut grants to the United Nations to the bare minimum. We should constantly call attention to these facts and the dangers which they involve.

How can Socialists possibly reconcile such a program with our platform or the principles of Democratic Socialism? Socialist Party support of such candidates will only confound the hopeless confusion which already envelops the American political scene. Worse than that it will destroy any chance of rebuilding the Socialist movement in the United States. People won't join the Socialist Party to support Democrats. They will join Democratic clubs.

Most of us joined the Socialist Party to work for Socialism and against capitalism. We can't do that by supporting a capitalist party whose every candidate is pledged to defend the profit system, and who never miss an opportunity to deny that they are Socialists. We make Socialists by constantly pointing out the evils of capitalism, and carrying on a continual fire against all parties and candidates who support it. The New Democratic Party in Canada is doing just that, and is rapidly gaining strength while we are standing still or going backwards.

We should stop soft-pedaling the mistakes and the false position of the liberal Democrats. We should never hesitate to condemn them when they do things which are contrary to our Socialist platform and principles. We should point out the reasons for these differences, and namely, that the Democratic Party supports the profit system, and is avowedly anti-Socialist, and we should not expect its members to act like Socialists.

If it were not for these differences, we could all be Democrats with a capital D, and there would be no reason for the existence of the Socialist Party. But these vital differences do exist, and we must have a Socialist Party to present our viewpoint. It is our job to build the Socialist Party, and we can best do that by emphasizing the differences between it and both the capitalist parties, and point out why we are right and they are wrong.

Heaven knows there is plenty to talk about. The Kennedy prospect of the sixties, like the Eisenhower prosperity of the fifties, is a damnable fraud. According to Leon H. Keyserling, former Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, in 1960 there were more than seventy-seven million persons - two-fifths of the people of the United States - living in poverty or deprivation. Despite all the glowing campaign promises, hard core unemployment is steadily rising, and the cost of living climbs ever upward from month to month. We have the manpower and the industrial capacity to produce plenty for all but we deliberately refuse to use them.

Why? Because the wealthy owners of business and industry, and their Republican and Democratic representatives in Congress, are planning for private profit instead of the public welfare - that's why. They intentionally plan poverty for millions of their fellow human beings in order that they may have more riches for themselves.

Let me cite one small example of what I am talking about. Instead of suggesting an increase in the basic \$600. exemption for income tax, which would give the poorest people more money to spend for food and clothes, the liberal Democratic Kennedy administration is proposing a tax cut for business, which will leave the wealthy more money to invest in automated equipment, which in turn will add to the number of unemployed.

Under the present system the domestic policy of the United States Government is designed to enable the wealthy investors to rob their poor fellow citizens. At the same time our foreign policy is designed to enable the wealthy investors to rob their poor fellow citizens. At the same time our foreign policy is designed to enable those same wealthy investors to rob the poor in the rest of the world.

Republicans and Democrats will vigorously deny this charge. They assert that the United States is not imperialistic, that we have no foreign colonies, and that we altruistically spend billions of dollars every year in foreign aid. This sounds good, doesn't it? But let us study it a bit. How about our foreign investments? For example, we boast of the billions that our government has given the people of India. Do you know that the capitalists have received more profits from their investments in India since its independence than our government has given in foreign aid? In other words, Congress appropriates public funds for foreign aid, and our investors take it all back plus some more in the form of profits. Isn't capitalism wonderful - for capitalists?

When the people of these countries react normally, and unfavorably to this process of exploitation, our Congressmen and Press refer to them as ungrateful ingrates. Socialists have no difficulty in understanding why the peoples of the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America resent being robbed by American investors, and hate the government which protects the robbers. We also know that no capitalist government will adopt a foreign policy which will win the friendship of these peoples. A government which aids and abets the few to rob the many at home is hardly likely to be sincerely concerned about the welfare of the poor peoples in other countries.

Cuba is a sad example of United States foreign policy. For several decades its people were cruelly exploited by United States corporations which owned most of the land in Cuba. So long as the Batista dictatorship was in power and protected those corporate interests, our government maintained a hands-off policy, and plausibly declared that it could not interfere in the affairs of a sister state. But when the Cuban people rebelled and overthrew that dictatorship and set up a new government, which took over the property of those corporations, the CIA promptly organized an invasion. Human rights don't matter but profits are sacred to a capitalist government.

This inordinate desire to protect private profits has prevented our government under both Republican and Democratic administrations from winning the cold war. We must again insist, as stated in our pre-convention draft platform, "that it is in democratic socialism that there lies the strongest defense against Communist totalitarianism, cruelty and disregard of human rights. To the degree that the United States by its policy shares up dictators, corrupt governments and great landlords in the under-developed sections of the world it invites a defeat which no attainable military strength can indefinitely forestall. What the

United States needs and what capitalism, decked out as "free enterprise" cannot supply, is a philosophy of human development in undeveloped lands.

"A sound philosophy must lie behind immediate policy, but that policy must be specific in outlining the road to take in an effective turn toward peace. There is no single track road to peace. To change the figure of speech, the life line to peace must be braided of four strong strands: (1.) universal disarmament down to a police level for preserving peace in nations and between nations; (2.) a steady strengthening of international organization, the United Nations so that it can substitute law for war in our present anarchic world of absolute nation states; (3.) orderly disengagement from American military commitments around the world which are more likely to lead to than to peace; (4) increased engagement in the holy war against poverty, illiteracy and disease around the world."

Socialists must continue, not only to support, but actively to engage in, the struggle for basic human rights for Negroes and other minority groups. I want to pay tribute to those members of the YPS and particularly to a former member of our National Committee, Comrade Walter Bergman, of Detroit, and his good wife, Frances, for their valiant service as Freedom Riders in the campaign to end segregation in Southern bus terminals. Comrade Bergman was in the bus which was attacked and burned by a mob at Montgomery, Alabama. He was so severely beaten that he had to spend several months in a hospital, for a long time his life hung in the balance. Such a noble sacrifice should inspire the rest of us to do our part in this glorious cause.

In the words of the poet Lowell in the first stanza of "The Present Crisis: "

"When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's
aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from East to West
And the slave where e're he cowers, feels the soul within him
climb
To the awful verge of mankind, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed in the thorny stem of time

Statement Released to the Press in Response to
Communist Party Letter

The Socialist Party-SDF rejected a unity appeal from the American Communist Party addressed to its convention in Washington, D.C.

Socialist leaders Darlington Hoopes, Norman Thomas and Max Shachtman issued the following statement:

"The Communist Party today has asked the Socialist Party to join it in common action, saying that this would unite 'some of the best fighters for peace and democracy.'

"We reject this appeal. We cannot accept the Communist Party's description of itself as 'fighters for peace and democracy'. Communists have never stood for democracy or civil liberties in any nation where they have achieved power. The Socialist Party has been a consistent opponent of the Smith and McCarran Acts although the American Communist Party has applauded the use of the Smith Act against its political adversaries.

"The Communist Party appeal calls at once communism a 'poison' which has divided socialist forces. The Socialist Party's opposition to communism is in no sense akin to that of the ultra-right, which identifies communism and socialism despite their obvious and irreconcilable differences. We reject this identification from either the right or the Communist Party.

"The Communist Party's letter speaks of history settling many past differences. We have seen no evidence that the American Communist Party has abandoned its subservience to Russian leadership, adopted elementary principles of democracy or has criticized denial of democratic principles by Communists in power.

"We are as always open to factual evidence of change, illustrated by deeds, and stand ready as always to debate publicly significant differences.

"The national committee of the Socialist Party, which has authorized this immediate statement, is submitting the Communist Party letter to the convention now in session. We have no doubt of the result."

Meier Resolution on Perspectives of the Socialist Party
During the Kennedy Administration

ADOPTED

The first 18 months of the Kennedy Administration has quickly shown the gap between the promises of the campaign and the grossly inadequate proposals to meet the needs of the American people. In housing, education, unemployment, economic growth and civil rights, the Administration task forces clearly outlined the scope of the problems. But the proposals sent to Congress were sharply limited even before the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition cut them even further. The new administration, instead of forthrightly challenging the power of this reactionary coalition has tried to come to terms with it on domestic legislation in the interest of support for foreign policy.

Particularly outrageous is the refusal of the Administration to support any new civil rights legislation despite all the campaign promises and the overwhelming vote of the Negro people, a vote which was decisive for Kennedy's victory. Certain administrative steps have been taken, such as a seemingly more vigorous Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, but this is not sufficient.

The campaign of the Freedom Riders to wipe out discrimination in interstate travel has presented the challenge once more. The appeal of the Freedom Riders to stop their efforts is clearly bowing to the pressures of those who seek to delay and deny such minimal steps for equal treatment.

Many liberals genuinely believed the promises of the New Front and eagerly looked to 100 days of social legislation to meet pressing domestic and international problems. While it is refreshing to have administration more aware of the problems of the world and more representative of liberal, labor and civil rights sentiment, the New Front is following in the old mold of compromise on important domestic legislation and adherence to the interests of the "military industrial complex" in foreign policy. At one and the same time, it raises the promises of social reform, uses the language of the rising revolution of Communism, and then urges greater military power to meet the thrusts of Communism. But the Cuban adventure showed that, at bottom, despite the rhetoric of liberalism and social reform, U.S. foreign policy will not differ significantly from what it was under Truman and Eisenhower.

The stalemate of U.S. politics is threatened by both the forces for progress and the forces for reaction. The most dynamic progress movement is the developing Negro struggle for first class citizenship and human dignity. On the reactionary side, there is the John Birch society, reflecting middle-class bewilderment toward the revolutionary struggles of our time and the challenge of Communism.

Domestic reform legislation is effectively blocked in Congress by the reactionary coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans, and many states by the unrepresentative character of the rural dominated legislatures. Whether there is a Democratic or Republican majority, most important Congressional committees are dominated by the conservatives of both parties. And long experience has shown that compromise

APPENDIX

as Kennedy has done, only emboldens the coalition.

But there are other stalemates in American politics which distort our political climate into a conservative shape unable to meet the challenge of the 20th century. Foreign policy under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has been decisively shaped by military considerations, and only secondarily by political considerations, to meet the revolutionary changes taking place in the former colonial and semi-colonial world. Here is the power of the "military-industrial complex," and those who are committed to the defense of capitalism in an era of revolutionary change. Nothing better illustrates the overall conservative character of the power elite in the U.S. And political parties committed, at best, to extremely modest reforms in the U.S. can hardly deal sympathetically with nations and peoples in the process of vast revolutionary upheavals.

However there are other forms of the political stalemate. For the Negro in the North, the stalemate is focused in the big city political machines, and the non-legal, but nevertheless real institutionalized racism in the North. The developing Negro consciousness, education and economic power, as well as considerations of foreign policy have forced the enactment of FEPC and fair housing legislation in many states. But the basic reality remains despite these advances.

For liberal and labor forces in the north, the stalemate is not only in the rural dominated state legislatures but in the conservative Democratic machines. These machines have not dealt with the problems of the urban areas. They speak the language of liberalism and deliver the vote of the workers, Negroes and liberals, but they live in an easy alliance with the dominant business interests.

Policy for the SP has to start not only from an awareness of the various forms of the political stalemate but from the size and strength of the organized democratic socialist movement. Our main concern is to involve the members of the Party in the various organizations which already exist and which are devoted to limited goals. We want to increase participation and activity in labor unions, civil rights organizations, peace organizations, various political groupings - such as the ADA, Liberal Party, reform Democratic Party Clubs, and community organizations concerned with specific local problems such as school integration, urban renewal, etc. The Party must seek ways of assisting its members in these activities, and utilizing its resources to coordinate and strengthen these various efforts. Right now the Party and its members have only peripheral involvements and influence in these organizations and movements.

We should particularly emphasize, where possible, these dynamic organizations that are formally politically non-partisan. We urge this not because of their "neutrality" but because they represent a more radical response to American society. The growth and strengthening of these "peripheral" groups is essential to any longer range radicalization in America. Furthermore the active people in these movements constitute the bulk of the involved radicals in this country today. It is amongst these people that the Socialist Party can find potential members today. They are the people who do not need to be convinced of the desirability of either realignment or a third party. They usually vote Democratic, but what they do on the other 364 days of the year repre-

sents the sum total of those activities in which a growing Socialist Party would be a unifying and synthesizing force.

We are referring specifically to the following activities which either clash with the major trend of official liberalism or which pull it from the left with their more militant approach.

1. The peace movement: SAME, which in the past year has taken the first distinct steps toward broadening its concern from nuclear policy alone to all aspects of democratic foreign policy; the American Friends Service Committee, with its peace marches and its increasing successful labor conferences; the Student Peace Union, which has sprung to many campuses.
2. The direct action civil rights movement: CORE, Freedom Riders, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and similar independent local groups.
3. Groups struggling for democracy in the trade union movement.
4. The Negro American Labor Council, which reinforces the direct action civil rights movement, but also serves to advance the cause of trade union democracy on a basis of racial equality.

In the past both the advocates of realignment and the advocates a labor (or third) Party have tended to exaggerate their relevance to the immediate day-to-day life of our movement. Granted that these are important and highly desirable developments, it is a mistake to think that advocacy of them by the small socialist movement is either in a way central to our present appeal, or that it can significantly affect the possibility of either goal coming to fruition. Furthermore such an emphasis is a deterrent to our growth in this period. For it is a fact that the youth are growing at a far more rapid rate than the Party because youth who have arrived at a radical social outlook are ready to commit themselves in accordance with their principles to a small organization. Any attempt to make political realignment the major emphasis of our activity will contribute to liquidating our youth support which is the most promising source at this time for future militant Socialist participation in all arenas of American life.

To sum up our political perspectives and our orientation during the Kennedy administration:

1. We represent as a Party a fundamentally different approach to the problems of society. We are not, in other words, the left wing of the Kennedy administration.
2. We would welcome realignment of the present two-party system as a decisive step forward in American politics. We welcome activity by liberal Democrats aimed at getting their Party to carry out the liberal planks contained in the Democratic Party platform. Members of the Socialist Party are free to participate in efforts at change within the Democratic Party. The Socialist Party today, for reasons detailed above, does not emphasize such arenas, but neither does it exclude the possibility that in some localities these types of reform clubs can provide a meaningful year-round center for political activity on neighborhood, local and national issues.

3. We do not exclude a turn of events sometime in the future that would result in a mass liberal-labor "third" party, which we would of course welcome. Where local independent liberal or labor political action is possible on a mass scale, Socialists should participate. At the present time, considering our own weakness and our still peripheral relationship with the liberal, labor and civil rights arenas, it would be incorrect for us to emphasize initiatives on our part for this purpose.

4. Socialist candidates should be put forward where a serious campaign is assured, and where a significant response is likely. We should not run candidates merely as a gesture on behalf of our principles, thus demonstrating our weakness and convincing the people we most want to influence of our sectarianism.

5. What we should emphasize is that our proposals for a new society are accompanied by an unceasing effort at participation in all the areas of social concern where significant radical and militant activity is being carried on, with the immediate objective of making our party the assembling point of American democratic radicalism. Only then can the question of the Socialist Party's intervention in reorganizing American political party life become a serious and significant debate.

Prices Resolution on Political Action

DEFEATED

American socialists find their natural allies among the members of the organizations of social protest - the peace, civil rights, civil liberties and labor movements. The evidence is already in that these movements of social protest will increase, expand and fuse their efforts in the coming period. Many people will begin to see that a major barrier to social equality and the abolition of war is the political control of the country by Democrats and Republicans, thus bringing them closer to the socialist viewpoint.

There are important signs of increased liberal and even radical stirrings in the United States; the resurgence of political interest on the campus with student involvement in civil rights, peace, and civil liberties struggles; the militancy of civil rights activists in the Negro community; the broadening of peace activity beyond the traditional pacifist organizations. The tide of McCarthyite hysteria is part of the past, although many of its reactionary influences are formalized into laws, which represent a danger to our democratic rights. The labor movement, with few exceptions, lags behind these progressive developments and remains tied to capitalist politics, thereby failing to fulfill its role of a broad social movement offering leadership to the nation.

Within this framework, the socialist movement in the United States faces the following tasks:

1. To maintain its ideological independence in the face of pressures for conformity and adaptation and to demonstrate the validity of the socialist alternative.
2. To educate on the need for radical and fundamental social change in order to achieve peace and self-determination for all peoples, put an end to poverty and discrimination and safeguard democracy.
3. To participate actively in those movements which are now working whatever their limitations, towards these goals.

The fact that socialists find their major area of work within the organizations of social protest obviously does not exclude a deep concern with those divisions within the capitalist parties which occur precisely because of increasing social protest. We have every interest in adding to the clarification of national politics by seeing that the labor-liberal-minority element in the Democratic Party, for example, crystallizes its opposition to reactionary policies and practices. However, as an independent party with a program, views and activities of our own, we must take great care to clearly distinguish ourselves from the liberal apologists of our own society.

The SP-SDF rejects as self-defeating and disorienting the policy of entering the Democratic Party to support liberal and labor-endorsed candidates with the perspective of transforming it into a more consistently liberal party. This policy is not a tactic; it is not simply a proposal for an additional arena where we can meet, influence and recruit people to the organized socialist movement. It is, in essence,

an over-all political approach which undercuts any rationale for the need today of an independent organized Socialist Party.

The change of the administration in the United States has produced no major change in either domestic or foreign policy. The Kennedy administration has been marking time on the domestic scene and pursuing the same disastrous Truman-Eisenhower foreign policy. Under pressure of the labor and civil rights movements, the administration has backed some improvement in the minimum wage program, has taken limited action to extend civil rights for Negroes in the South and proposed a very limited program for medical care for the aged.

Measured against the needs of the American people and the crisis of our time, the Kennedy administration, despite the liberal rhetoric, has pursued a very moderate policy. It has rejected any fight for meaningful Congressional action on civil rights and cautioned moderation to the civil rights militants. In the face of the persistently high level of unemployment the administration has proved bankrupt. It has resisted labor's demands for bold government action and simultaneously opposed labor's proposal for a shorter work week.

Although the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition rules Congress, most Northern Democrats do not find this arrangement unlivable. The Kennedy administration has not challenged this reactionary coalition's power but tailored its proposals to accommodate it. While the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition is a roadblock to progress, Northern Democrats and the Kennedy administration are in turn committed to maintaining their own coalition with the Dixiecrats within their own party.

Socialists see the need for a fundamental political realignment. But to give meaning to this realignment, we need an awareness by the labor movement, liberals, the peace movement and the forces fighting for civil rights that neither the Democratic nor Republican parties can serve as the basis for the political change necessary. In recent years, there have been many efforts by liberals and trade unionists to make the Democratic Party a meaningful party with a progressive platform. These efforts have been to no avail, and the progressive elements have been absorbed into that political potpourri of liberals and conservatives, labor and union busters, Negroes and racists, peace advocates and supporters of bomb deterrents.

While there may be only limited indications of liberal, labor and Negro dissatisfaction reaching the point of openly challenging or breaking with the Democratic Party and the Kennedy Administration, the urgency of a fundamental political change remains. The interest of labor and the nation requires the formation of a new party. Such a party can only be formed with the active leadership and support of the labor movement. This is the central issue of domestic politics.

In the coming period it is necessary for Socialists to urge and point out the necessity for electoral action independent of the old parties. The 1962 elections will see several such independent campaigns. With the favorable development of such local campaigns and other similar campaigns by labor, liberal and civil rights groups, we hope for the formation of new regional and national political groupings.

In the absence of independent electoral activity by a party local the following will guide members and locals in their activities:

1. Where an independent candidate for elective office is making a real break with the machinery and political attitudes of the capitalist parties, such a candidate may be endorsed by the local party organization in the area only after consultation with and approval by National Committee.
2. Those of our members who are actively engaged within the various organizations of social struggle and protest may find themselves in situations where these organizations and/or their members are involved in local electoral campaigns within the old party structure. Under these circumstances, socialists whose effectiveness would be limited by non-participation may participate in these campaigns as individuals after consultation with their local socialist organization.

The Socialist Party has a long tradition of participation in the electoral arena in its own name. Socialists appreciate that in the United States there is little prospect of an immediate mass radicalization which will produce a mass socialist organization. Recognizing this, the Party reaffirms, however, that such electoral activity remains one of its objectives, although the participation in any particular campaign must be weighed by what is practical and politically and organizationally effective.

In the context of the problems of the current period, socialists must be prepared for the probability of a continued, extended period of patient work in mass organizations and education-propaganda work. This work will help to rally membership to the local party organization. The Socialist Party reaffirms its belief that it can participate in the many areas of political activity by remaining the voice of American socialism and the traditional opponent of capitalist ideology and politics.

First Harrington Resolution on Political Action
And The 1962 Elections

DEFEATED

Two years after the election of John F. Kennedy to the Presidency with a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress, the people of America continue to look in vain for a "new frontier." There has been a slight advance with the aid of pressure by the trade unions and other progressive groups: depressed area and industrial retraining programs were launched and an improved minimum wage bill has been passed. A refreshing tone of youthful vigor in Washington has replaced the business-as-usual lethargy of the Eisenhower years. Yet, measured against the hopes and aspirations of the millions who crave a broadening of civil liberties, an end to the shame of racial inequality, alternative roads to world peace and an end to economic injustice and unemployment, the record of solid accomplishments has been remarkably slim.

In one vital area after the other unsolved national problems are fast becoming imminent national crises: race relations, automation, medical costs, education, the plight of our cities, transportation. Yet, in spite of the fact that the President's own "task forces" often defined these problems with courage and some vision, next to nothing has been done to come to grips with them. And in some areas, as in the case of the Administration's proposals for private operation of the vast new communications satellite program, and private development of Western water power resources, there has been a lamentable knuckling under to corporate influences.

Today, the most threatening spectre which haunts America is not the direct impact of the reactionary ultra-right, but the accommodations with it which the Republican Party is prepared to make, and the avoidance of issues by most Democrats in order to insure that their party's nobility is not harmed. Thereby, the entire nation suffers.

Yet, there is much that Socialists find hopeful and promising in the current American scene. Dedicated peace and civil rights advocates have fought courageously for meaningful advances in these areas. We rejoice in the growth especially amongst the nation's youth, of groups like the NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SANE, TURN TOWARD PEACE and SPU. The sit-ins and peace marches of the past two years have shown the world that there is indeed another America, one which shares the aspirations of people everywhere and is willing to sacrifice to achieve them. The strengthening of all these movements is a vital task of Socialists in the coming period. The SP-SDF sees further the need to help to broaden their vision, awaken them to their inter-relatedness, and above all to bring them into the political struggle for social democracy and peace. For the achievement of the great aim of the civil rights and peace movements requires protest plus progress, direct action plus politics.

The great dilemma of this period is that our party system, as presently constituted, does not offer to the dedicated citizen an opportunity to work effectively for a progressive political program. The Republican Party, with a few exceptions, remains the party of privilege, big business and unprincipled compromise with racism and primal reaction. The Democratic Party is still an unprincipled coalition of

dedicated liberals, trade-unionists, business interests, racists and dishonest city bosses and hucksters. In contrast to the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, which is committed to keeping this grotesque coalition intact, we Socialists seek to shatter utterly this coalition and to replace it with a new, genuinely meaningful political alignment, one which offers to the people an intelligent choice of program. Simple realism dictates that the decisive struggle must be waged for the formation of a new progressive liberal-labor political movement in and around the Democratic Party. For it is with that Party that the most politically advanced liberal and working-class elements are now involved. What is needed is the consciousness of purpose, dedication to program and strength of unity that will enable the liberal-labor wing of the Democratic Party to wage an aggressive struggle for dominance.

Even now, in embryonic form, that struggle is taking place - the form movements in New York, California, Texas, etc. - the Negro candidates in the South - CDP. The SP-SDF does not intend to isolate these because of its third party tradition. We do not intend to stand aside from this fight.

As Socialists, we realize that a mass socialist movement will not erupt suddenly from out of nowhere, but will flow from the struggles of the people for the things that must concern them: jobs, peace, equality and justice. Further, as activists in the movements for civil rights and peace who urge greater involvement in politics, we dare not offer form-las that are so remote from the concrete realities as to condemn these movements to political sterility, compelling them to await development of which there are now not the remotest signs, i.e. SP as a potent electoral force, or a full-blown independent labor party.

While our general perspective is toward the program outlined above, we recognize that the 1962 elections do not offer the immediate prospect of political realignment. But 1962 does enable us to make progress toward realignment. Further the Congressional elections offer the chance to elect a small but significant bloc of dedicated champions of peace, civil rights, civil liberties and economic justice.

The SP-SDF is prepared to support those courageous liberals who support our support in primaries and in elections. As individuals, Socialists should feel free to work through their unions, major party clubs and other organizations not only for increased labor and minority-group registration, but for the election of those liberal candidates who consistently support peace, labor, social welfare and civil rights legislation and programs and will fight against the reactionary Republican-Democrat coalition. Such participation does not commit the SP-SDF to the campaigns or to the dilution of its own program and vital socialist educational work.

A distinction must be drawn between genuine liberals who deserve support, and candidates reluctantly endorsed by labor and liberals. Supporting the latter only adds to liberalism's dependence upon the Democratic Party. It does not lead to the sort of basic realignment we and the liberals seek, a realignment which must involve increased Democratic dependence upon the progressives.

Where a meaningful independent liberal, labor, or socialist campaign can be waged, the SP-SDF should involve itself to the fullest. Care

should be taken to choose districts where an electoral programmatic impact can be made, and where an independent candidacy does not merely guarantee the victory of a reactionary.

Meanwhile, American socialism has the obligation of spotlighting the realities of injustice, hypocrisy, "tokenism," and down-right fraud which are the stock in trade of American politics. It must seek to broaden the vision of the dedicated peace and civil rights advocates with whom it works, and to bring them into the political struggle for social democracy and economic equity in the United States, and throughout the world in which we live.

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SECOND HARRINGTON RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL ACTION

DEBATED

The Democratic and Republican parties, jockeying for advantage in the 1962 Congressional elections, promise little to Americans who have been struggling for an end to racial discrimination, the abolition of poverty and economic injustice, and the subordination of a futile search for absolute military security, to an enlightened economic and political policy.

In most congressional districts, issues of national and world-wide urgency will be obscured in the traditional shell games of American politics, namely localism, demagogery, and the reduction of the demand of competing interest groups and social classes to a minimum, coupled with an exaggeration of the remaining pragmatic differences.

Today the specter which haunts America is neither the radical right nor communism. Thanks to the exposure of the radical right's absurd view of the world in which we live, in which the SP-SDF has played a leading role, and the unsavory character of many of its petty chiefs, it will have little direct influence in the 1962 campaign. What we fear is that the vote-hungry Republican party will make concessions to it, and that many Democrats will accommodate to it hence shifting the arena of debate to the right of where it stood in the 1960 campaign.

Despite the efforts of a lonely handful of intelligent, modern conservatives, the Republican Party remains the party of self-righteous privilege, economic illiteracy and social myopia. Many of its leaders are prepared to compromise with racism as well as neo-fascism. Not the least of its disservices to American life is the way in which its obscurantism veils the deficiencies of its rival - the Democratic Party.

Two years after the Democrats elected John F. Kennedy president on the most progressive platform in the party's history, the visions of the New Frontiersmen have sunk beneath the horizon, and the Democratic party itself has retreated into the safety of the political heavens it knows so well. It remains a curious hodge-podge of dedicated liberals, militant and not-so-militant trade unionists, business interests, racists, hucksters, tarnished city bosses and their reformer critics.

In the controlling centers are the professional politicians, adept at giving labor unions and civil rights organizations the minimum necessary to keep them in the Democratic coalition, but not enough either to satisfy their legitimate aspirations, change the power structure of our big business dominated economy, or cost the party any of its right wing votes.

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Minimum wage law coverage has been somewhat extended, but at so low a pace as to leave the maldistribution of purchasing power unaltered. The President heroically marshals the forces for medical care for the aged behind a bill of much less use to the neediest of them than his 960 platform promised.

He saved us from a steel price rise - temporarily - and now asks the labor movement in return to agree to wage restraints and the shelving of its demand for a shortened work week. Federal aid to education, which the President has given so much attention, is all but abandoned for the sake of preserving the Democratic coalition, and the promised consumer protection legislation is forgotten. No serious program for urban renewal nor for the solution of our transportation problems has yet come from Congress, despite the President's appreciation of their urgency. In space development and Western water utilization, the New Frontiersmen have abdicated their responsibility and claims to the old trappers and hunters of private enterprise. While the White House patronizes artists, the mass media remain at the mercy of the hucksters.

Meanwhile Americans of all races and particularly student and other youth organizations have intensified their fight for civil rights, and their search for roads to world peace. We in the SP-SDF rejoice in the growth of our members and the Young Peoples Socialist League in which many of our members and the Young Peoples Socialist League have been active. We find hope too in the many little publicized battles that have been waged for trade union democracy, better public education, and more democratic community life in which Socialists have participated, and in the increasing demand of many Americans for more honest, efficient and humane government at local, state and national levels.

One of the most vital obligations of the SP-SDF is to broaden the horizons of the thousands of good citizens who have been supporting one or the other of these progressive tendencies, to show their inter-relations, to help improve the sometimes not too good relations between civil rights advocates, municipal reformers, peace movement advocates and trade unionists, and to work with all of them and with the genuinely liberal politicians to forge a new dynamic coalition which will force a basic realignment in American politics.

In contrast to the present Kennedy-Johnson administration which seeks to keep the present Democratic coalition intact, we Socialists want to shatter it and to replace it with a new alignment in politics which will present Americans in every city and state in this nation with meaningful choices between progressives and labor conservatives. We do not doubt, as many of our liberal and labor friends never tire of telling us, that many of the decisive struggles for political realignment will take place within the Democratic Party. Socialists will, as they have in the past, be active in many of the skirmishes in that campaign. What we do very much doubt is that realignment is advanced by all-out commitments to the Democratic Party

as it now is, by support of all the candidates thrown up by its existing coalition, or by vows to never undertake or support independent labor or socialist tickets in locales of socialist or labor strength where popular demands are ignored by Democratic machines.

The SP-SDF is prepared to support those radical and liberal candidates who seek our organizational support in primaries and elections. As individuals, socialists are encouraged to work through their unions, party reform clubs and other organizations, not only to increase popular registration but for the selection of those liberal labor candidates who consistently support peace, labor, social welfare, civil rights and economic reform legislation and who have the will to actually fight in Congress the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition. Such participation does not commit the SP-SDF as an organization to these campaigns and most emphatically does not require the SP-SDF to dilute its own program, to de-emphasize its own long range educational work.

A distinction must be drawn between genuine liberals who deserve support and the Democratic hacks endorsed by labor and some liberals often reluctantly whose devotion to progress is conditioned by the interests of the existing Democratic coalition and the whims of their principal local supporters. Supporting such candidates in fact only adds to liberalism's and labor's dependence upon the Democratic Party not to the basic realignment we and most liberals seek, a re-alignment which must involve increased democratic dependence upon liberal, labor and civil rights groups.

Where a meaningful independent, labor or socialist campaign can be waged, the SP-SDF should participate with utmost vigor. Care should be taken to select districts where a political and educational impact can be made, and where the results will be the achievement of a strong socialist-liberal-labor coalition, not the isolation of socialist and other independent political actions advocates from the general liberal labor community.

We do not delude ourselves that real political realignment is just around the corner. It is our goal, as it is that of many other progressive Americans. It must be worked for vigorously and without the burden of either traditional Socialist Party orthodoxy, or any formula which seeks either to exaggerate the present weight of liberal labor forces within the Democratic Party, or the strength of those elements within the labor movement currently discussing independent political action.

It is time the American "left" came of age in its thinking about American politics. One set of illusions is no more conducive to clarity of thought and effectiveness of action than another. Socialist should be in all the real fights that will take place along

the road toward realignment, and shun the sham battles.

In the next few years, many of the real fights will be waged by unions, civil rights, and peace community organizations, not in just the electoral arena. The SP-SDF calls upon its members and friends throughout the nation to jump into all of them, and to do their utmost to win the support of each of these groupings for the efforts of all, and for their coming together in a broadly based democratic coalition which will force realignment upon the politicians.

Denitch Resolution on Foreign Policy

ADOPTED

President Kennedy has announced the decision to resume atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons, and the world inches closer to destruction. Like the Soviet resumption of testing last fall, the U.S. decision is an offense against all of humanity. Radioactive fallout knows no national boundaries; it falls everywhere, and the tensions of the war are tightened up to a still higher pitch.

The Soviets' resumption of bomb testing increased the pollution of the atmosphere, accelerated the arms race and strengthened reactionary pressures in the United States by giving the ultra-right and its proponents of U.S. tests new ammunition. But that does not excuse the Kennedy administration, whose decision to resume testing is clearly its own responsibility.

The American decision to copy Russia in resuming the tests is desperately wrong. Both sides already have what is called an "over capacity." We are told that this time the decision is different; that we will promise not to explode any more bombs in the atmosphere if Russians will only sign the same treaty, slightly modified which they have continually rejected. Everyone knows that the pressures on the Kennedy administration to resume testing have been increasing. The problem has been, for the administration, how to make these tests palatable to a dubious world opinion. The uncommitted nations know that our resumption will only guarantee that the Russians will launch a test series, to "close the gap" again. How long can this race continue before radioactive fallout passes the "tolerable" level? And how much more tension can people stand before they begin to listen to the insane voice of the advocates of preventive war, the groups in both the United States and the Communist bloc who are ready to push the button and get it over with?

We of the Socialist Party are against bomb tests, East or West. But to say that is only a first step. What is the alternative to testing, on our side? Is it to let the Soviet Union and China win cold war and the world? Is the only choice between being "Red" or "dead"? We believe that the choice is a false one, and is only advanced by those who can see now way out, and whose death instincts are very strong indeed.

The strangest argument for testing is that any major nuclear advance for one side invites war by making "victory" possible, hence, is argued, equalization of "deterrent" ability is necessary for peace even if it takes more bomb tests, and still more. But this only reveals that it is the cold war itself which must be ended. Even if we are suspended again for a time, the danger of war would still be there. Tests must be stopped, but the real answer to the endless crises of cold war is not to be found in simply opposing further testing. To break out of the circle of the arms race, a new politics is needed, politics of democracy and of socialism.

As socialists, we do not support either the politics of the military-industrial complex of American capitalism, or those of the totalitarian Communist bloc. We are not appeasers or neutralists, but political opponents of both war camps. While there are important differences between the two systems, both the U.S. and Communist rulers are in their own ways, enemies of freedom and democracy. Year after year

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they have shown themselves to be alike in their common willingness to use armed force to crush any revolt against their domination. In Hungary, in Tibet, in Cuba, in Guatemala - both the U.S. and Communist blocs have used the same imperialist tactics. Korea, Laos, and Vietnam have been the battlegrounds of the two rival powers, and the peoples of these countries are the victims.

The interests of most of the peoples of the world are continually threatened by both systems. In Latin America, in Africa, in the Middle East, the revolutions against colonialism and native dictatorships are opposed by the United States and its NATO allies. The peoples of those countries do not want to substitute Soviet domination for the old rulers, but the politics of the cold war and the absence of a positive social alternative to Soviet totalitarianism tend to push them into the Communist camp.

A Meaningful Struggle for Peace Requires Alignment against the Rival Camps.

Peace cannot be won by changing the souls of the men who now run Moscow and Washington and Beijing. The call for peace, without a political alternative to the present system, can only have temporary and limited successes; it can only act as a brake on the race toward war. We support such limited struggles, but stress the need to oppose the social systems at the root of the cold war.

In order to turn toward a lasting peace, we must begin by:

1. Unilateral cessation of testing and production of nuclear and atomic weapons.
2. Calling for disarmament under effective controls.
3. Disengagement of both major powers in Europe, initiated unilaterally, if necessary.

How can these changes be brought about? A significant peace movement can only be built if it begins to mobilize the vast numbers of people who do not, ultimately, have a stake in the continuation of the cold war, even if they do not realize it now.

There is in the United States a vacuum on the left. Today, the Negro people and other minority groups, the labor movement, and independent liberals have no effective political voice for their aspirations. We believe that what this country needs, above all, is a genuine political opposition, independent of the bi-partisan "establishment" and the major party leaders who follow essentially the same foreign policy matter who is in office.

A peace movement which is willing to mobilize these groups, to form a democratic opposition on the left, can do more than hold up bomb testing for a few months. It can build a new America, based on the real interests of labor, liberals, and minority groups, who now have no real voice in government. They help to elect a Democratic administration which has concentrated on a continued build-up of an economy based on multiplying armaments, while the problems of civil rights, housing, unemployment and medical care are shoved aside.

An alliance on the democratic left is the only force which can make the demand for peace effective, by planning for an economy of peace. The American economy today is geared toward war; we can only begin to disarm when labor, liberals, and minority groups find their own

voice and root out the entrenched leaders of the military-industrial establishment.

As such an opposition develops, the United States can begin to turn toward a democratic foreign policy, one which will provide a non-military road to defeating both colonialism and Communist expansion. Instead of supporting reactionary rulers with military aid, such American policy for peace would support democratic revolutionary groups against poverty and dictatorship. Such a policy would have meant instituting aid to the Cuban revolution thus combating the authoritarian end Communist influence in the Castro regime, which is distorting that revolution into a dead end.

For the future, a foreign policy for peace requires that we form alliances with democratic forces everywhere - for example, in Germany with a social democratic movement which seeks an independent course not with Adenauer and the ex-Nazis whom we now support.

The only way in which the peace movement can become fully effective is by becoming political. Those who want peace must be willing to oppose an administration which refuses their demands, and to make alliances with the social forces capable of building an alternative to the Establishment. They must be willing to consider the formation of a third party, like the New Democratic Party in Canada, if a meaningful realignment of the major parties in the United States proves impossible.

The time for a new political alliance for peace is now. The politics of peace demands a new America, not the America of Kennedy or Nixon.

This resolution was adopted subject to editing for wording in keeping with its general intent.

Friend Resolution on Foreign Policy

DEFEATED

1. The SP-SDF considers the mounting of a political offensive against all totalitarian regimes to be a prime element in the struggle for peace and freedom. A political offensive for liberation and freedom is the most realistic and effective alternative to the maintenance of a precarious military balance of nuclear terror.

2. The world conflict between the rival social systems is both political and military. The power of totalitarian collectivism derives, not only from its nuclear power or industrial capacity, but from the political strength it gathers by being able, through virtual default, to present itself in underdeveloped and underdeveloped countries as the most reliable of all oppressed peoples seeking to break the bonds of servitude and exploitation.

3. Democratic and socialist forces must expose this historic and monstrous lie and work to end this monopoly by pressing for a truly democratic foreign policy.

4. The SP-SDF calls on the American people to encourage, sponsor and support democrats and socialists in all countries seeking to overthrow regimes of exploitation, imperialist domination and totalitarian or authoritarian tyranny.

5. We urge the American people to reject the policies of accommodation with reactionary regimes on both sides of the Iron Curtain as dangerous to the peace and freedom of the world and to its own survival.

6. The road to peace does not lie in division of the world into Big Power spheres of interest or in the acceptance or underwriting of the status quo in any part of the world.

7. The fight for democratic freedom cannot be limited to the underdeveloped countries of the world. It must, and can be, extended to the countries dominated by Russian and Chinese totalitarian collectivism and to the fascist and authoritarian regimes in the capitalist west.

8. The SP-SDF considers all totalitarian collectivist states, whether formally allied to the Russian bloc or not enemies of democracy and socialism. It is a mockery to call totalitarian states like Yugoslavia, Poland and Cuba socialist. There can be no socialism without democracy.

9. Negotiations leading to temporary truces with enemies in order to buy time or to localize and neutralize areas of military clash may be necessary. The SP-SDF warns, however, against illusory hopes that strategic concessions to ally the so-called legitimate security fears of the totalitarian powers can bring peace or reduce the power drives of the expansionist empires of Russia and China. The irrepressible imperialistic rivalries and conflicts are not the result of ordinary misunderstanding. The lack of goodwill, ideological fanaticism or psychological aberration. The maintenance of totalitarian class rule and exploitation provides the dynamic force and necessity to aggression and expansion.

10. Peace, stabilization through the establishment of world order and disarmament to eliminate the dangers created by nuclear armaments can be achieved only through the political destruction or weakening of the

classes whose interest it is to wage war or gain by employing the threat of nuclear attack for blackmail and aggrandizement.

11. Politics of appeasement, a defensive stance leading to imperial capitulation, no matter how well intentioned, are not only reactionary and immoral, but above all increase the risk and likelihood of nuclear war and annihilation.

12. A foreign policy based on a worldwide struggle for free democratic social, political and economic institutions can derive for and effectiveness only from an unremitting and uncompromising effort to end inequality, exploitation and poverty in our own country. The enlargement of the areas of democracy abroad requires the full extension of democracy at home. The impetus, sustaining drive and pressure for a democratic foreign policy can be provided only by the political and social forces working to eliminate all social and economic inequality in the U.S.

13. An effective struggle against totalitarian tyranny is so deeply and organically dependent on an aggressive and revolutionary democratic struggle, both at home and abroad, that to relax one is to undermine the other. This requires the vigilant guarding, by the labor, civil rights and socialist movements, of their political and moral independence from the established political-industrial-military complex, whose interests conflict with those who seek to transform American society into a thoroughgoing economic and political democracy.

1962 National Convention

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The following resolutions were referred by the Convention to the National Committee and enacted by the National Action Committee acting on behalf of the Convention:

PARDON JUNIUS SCALES; RESTORE POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS TO SMITH ACT VICTIMS

The imprisonment of Julius Scales, former official of the Communist Party, under the "membership clause" of the Smith Act is a double outrage.

This provision of the Act punishes people for no crime except the political "crime" of being or having been "knowing" members of the Communist Party. The viciousness of the Act itself, and of the persecutions of persons under it, both past and potential, is highlighted by the case of Julius Scales. Scales had left the party years before his final conviction and sentencing. Nevertheless he was given the longest single sentence yet issued in a Smith Act case. The reason for his sentence is clear: opposition to Stalinism is not enough -- only a willingness to turn informer against his former associates would have satisfied the Justice Department and the court, and led to a dismissal or nominal punishment.

A presidential pardon of Julius Scales can repair some of the damage to human dignity and civil liberties caused by his imprisonment.

The Socialist Party calls on President Kennedy to pardon Julius Scales and all other Smith Act victims immediately, and to restore to them all civil and political rights.

***** END PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE MCCARRAN ACT

A number of indictments and prosecutions of leaders of the Communist Party have been initiated by the Department of Justice, for failure to register under the McCarran Act.

To force these people to register would expose each and every one of them to prosecution under the Smith Act. This legal trap violates every sense of fair play, as well as the constitutional guarantee that no man shall be forced to bear witness against himself.

In the long run, only repeal of the McCarran Act by Congress can put a stop to this back-handed means of suppressing and illegalizing the Communist Party and other organizations which have been or may be declared "Communist front" or "Communist infiltrated" by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

We call on the Kennedy administration to initiate repeal of this vicious law which runs counter to the best tradition of American democracy. We further call on the administration to drop the current prosecutions and indictments, as a means of demonstrating its intention to have the Act repealed; to lift the pall of governmental persecution from the political life of the country; and as an act of simple justice to the individual victims.

RESOLUTION ON FUNERAL REFORM

WHEREAS the custom of ostentatious and costly funerals has led to one of the severest and most cruel forms of exploitation in America, with total expenses for funerals and burials now close to two billion dollars per year, and

WHEREAS funeral expenses are now consuming the major portion of the hard-won welfare funds of union labor, and

WHEREAS a national movement, dedicated to simplicity, dignity and economy in funeral arrangements has been developed, with organizations in more than 50 cities, be it therefore

RESOLVED that the Socialist Party go on record in support of this movement and encourage its members, and the members of trade unions and other progressive groups to take active part in these organizations.

Information on existing societies and on how to organize such societies is available from the newly-formed Continental Association of Funeral and Memorial Societies, c/o The Co-op League of the U. S. A., 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 4, Illinois.

Full Delegates Attending Convention
(Registered Delegates)

Arizona

Tucson: George Papen

California

East Bay: Joyce Brown

Bogdan Denitch
Robert Martinson

Los Angeles: Paul Albright

William Briggs
Arthur Kunkin
Sam Kushner
Aileen Whitehead

Colorado

Boulder: Myrna Culbreath

Alex Garber
John Maxwell
Richard Von Fuchs
Gene Yeager

Illinois

Nancy Ahearn

Ray Ahearn
Robert Brown
Joe Gutenkauf
Deborah Meier
Saul Mendelson
Peter Meyer
Michael Parter
Michael Shute
Max Weinrib
Rose Weinrib
Ben Williger

Massachusetts

Leo Leopold
Virginia Clark
Frances Morrill

Michigan

Ann Arbor: Charles Van Tassel

Detroit: Conrad Keydel
Stan Ovshinsky
Oscar Paskal
George Rawick

Maryland

Baltimore: Charles Davis

Connecticut
New Haven: Donald R. Anderson

Ohio

Max E. Epstein
Barry Gorden
Robert S. Henes
Katherine Syracopoulos
Max Wohl
Sylvia Wohl

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia
Thomas Barton
David Fineman
Lillian Marmak
Martin Oppenheimer
Sara Oppenheimer
Pittsburgh
Max Turner

David Rine
Reading: Darlington Hoopes
Washington (State of)
Donald Moon

Washington, District of Columbia

Warren Morse
Ruth Stack
Helene Wilson
Richard Wilson
Kathleen Winston
Milton Zatinsky

New Jersey

Camden: Morris Stempa
Harry Clevenger
Northern New Jersey
Henry Baich

Wisconsin

James Flynn

Young Peoples Socialist League

Joel Geier
Tom Kahn
Joanne Landy

Delegates At Large:

Missouri - William S. Allen
New York - Brewster Kneen

1962 National Convention

Registered Full Delegates (continued)

REGISTERED ALTERNATES

New York State

Nassau: Seymour Koblow

Michael Green

Max Shachtman

Norman Thomas

Suffolk: Jack Cypin

New York City

At Large: Sydney Bykowsky

Samuel Friedman

Michael Harrington

Robert Koepficus

Ernst Papanek

Seymour Steinsapir

Irwin Suall

Brooklyn: Robert Aks

Abraham Bassford

Mordecai Kohn

Lower Manhattan: Herman Benson

Phyllis Jacobson

Irving Panke

Trade Union: Norman Hill

Queens: Anne Koepficus

Terence McCarthy

Upper West Side: David Edelstein

Samuel Estrin

Rudy Pakalns

Antonio Ramirez

Colorado: Frank Byers

Alberta Garber

Charlotte Roe

Connecticut: Eleanor Holmes

Illinois: Burt Rosen

Ohio: Griscom Morgan

Washington, D. C.

Richard Kinsey

Neil MacLay

Larry Tepper

Wisconsin: Emily Flynn

At Large: Stan Matoren

Missouri: Stan Matoren

New York City:

Lower Manhattan

Bernard Bolitzer

Brooklyn

George Aronov

1962 National Convention

CORRECTIONS

Several errors have been noted in the listing and tabulation of the foreign policy resolutions roll call found on pages 14, 15 and 16 of these proceedings. The following corrections should be noted:

Voting for the Friend resolution:

Maxwell

Alex Garber

Culbreath

Yeager

Alberta Garber

Rowe

Friedman

Abstaining on the Friend Resolution:

Pakalns

Corrected totals on Roll Call:

Friend Resolution: For - 11 Against - 56 Abstaining - 1

Dentch Resolution: For - 47 Against - 21

Not Voting: 3

BULK RATE

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